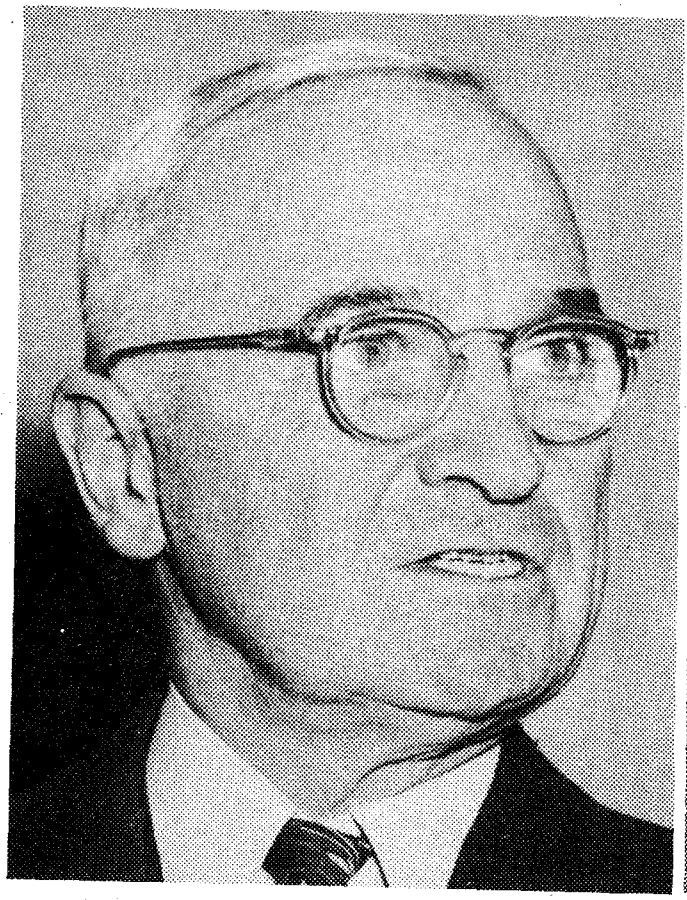
20c • NOVEMBER 23, 1953

Wm. O. DOUGLAS: UNDERMINING THE LAW

New Republic



TRUMAN and BROWNELL

The Unresolved Issues

NOV 21 1953
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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

Harry Truman we think, is perfectly capable of taking care of himself in the Harry Dexter White "spy" case. The man who isn't, and for whom we are sorry, is Dwight Eisenhower. He doesn't know what is going on. He is being used and manipulated by the knowing men around him. His decent and generous instincts are being betrayed by men he trusts, and he is in danger of being mummified like a paralyzed fly within a spider web which he did not make and cannot cope with.

Do not forget that a lot of wealthy people invested a lot of money in winning the 1952 election. Nothing was too good—they even used the nation's most popular war hero. Their investment is too big to lose. Confronted with clear signs of impending disaster in Wisconsin and New Jersey, not effaced by the GOP victory in California, Brownell intervened promptly for the big interest boys. The formula is simple, (It worked for McCarthy, why not for the "respectables" of the Republican Party?) Keep the voters churning over the spy menace, and nobody will notice that little sleight-of-hand job of grabbing off-shore oil, hog-tying organized labor and manipulating financial markets. . . . But how about Ike; he's a gentlemanly chap — won't he object? Naw, he's just a dope in a brass hat, isn't he? He doesn't even believe in trying to lead Congress; let him go play with his nice Commissions!

These are strong suspicions to put down, and we confess that we shouldn't have used them till after last week's press conference. Ike is a decent, likeable chap living on an intellectual island who comes over to the mainland once a week in a trim launch to see the press. They don't have newspapers on Ike's island, or telephones, so you can't expect him to know very well what's going on. What's all this talk about Harry Dexter White anyway? Ike explained that until Brownell's charge he had never heard of him. (Actually he met White with Fred Smith, another Treasury official, Aug. 7, 1944, in a tent in South England where he apparently approved the stern proposal to pastoralize postwar Germany in the so-called "Morgenthau Plan"; but it doesn't matter; that is only a detail.)

In his fair-minded manner Ike said he would not have subpoenaed Truman; he was sure of Truman's patriotism and didn't think Brownell had impugned it.

This showed Ike hadn't read the speech or else still didn't understand it. Ike said, and reiterated, that Brownell had cleared the speech with him but merely as something that had to be revealed about the FBI and "White"—a name which meant nothing to him.

Ike made this explanation calmly, without any apparent sense that Brownell had betrayed him. The constant interjection of amazed newspapermen, who stood up as many as 10 at a time, trying to put questions, conspicuously irritated Eisenhower. But he showed no irritation against Brownell: his attitude was one of disassociation; the responsibility was Brownell's not his. Ike said at one point: He (Eisenhower) was not going to give him (Brownell) orders as to methods in which he handles responsibilities of his own office. Having said this Ike the fair-minded, likeable citizen, stepped back into his lunch and returned to his island.

Millionaire Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce and amiable Yankee anachronism, is another friend who let Eisenhower down. With millionaire pen-manufacturer Craig Sheaffer, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Weeks entered Washington like the conqueror of an enemy city. The Bureau of Standards had made trouble for Sheaffer's so-called "lifetime" pen. It had also obtained a postal fraud order against the battery additive "AD-X2," whereas Weeks thoroughly believed the mysterious white powder had aided one of the big storage batteries of his company.

Obviously the Bureau was a nest of business-hating, New Deal intellectuals, and he fired its chief, world-famous Dr. Astin out of hand for not being "sufficiently objective" nor taking into account considerations of "the market place."

In the subsequent hearing before the Senate Small Business Committee, Chairman Thye (R, Minn.) did a remarkable job in trying to protect Weeks and Sheaffer. But Sheaffer had to go, Astin had to be reinstated, and now a jury of scientists again finds "AD-X2" worthless. Ike delegated responsibility to Weeks, and Weeks made the Administration look silly. The preceding socialistic administration protected the public from AD-X2 as a fraud. Is the new Administration going to reinstitute the postal ban, or will it protect the fraud because it is a "business"?

Daily headlines screamed of "espionage" which McCarthy was uncovering in secret hearings at the Ft. Monmouth, N. J., Signal Corps radar laboratories. Information came solely from McCarthy who interviewed himself behind closed doors. The press played Joe's game, as always, by printing charges without evaluating them. The truth? Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens announces flatly the army has not found "anything relating to espionage." The McCarthy attack has caused 33 technicians to be suspended for screening, some of them on seemingly preposterous grounds. A few innocents will probably have to be sacrificed in order to save McCarthy's face.

Notes: The *Wall Street Journal* and Scripps-Howard papers warn Washington reporters not to ask Ike such embarrassing questions. . . . Mrs. White of Indianapolis, GOP member of Indiana's Textbook Commission, charges the Robin Hood legend is "Communistic" because Robin robbed the rich to help the poor; the state school superintendent is re-reading the legends. . . . The Velde House Un-American Activities Committee's silly attempt to subpoena Truman was a sensation abroad; another week ends with all Europe laughing at the United States. . . . Queen Elizabeth's surgeon, Sir James Paterson, returns to England amazed at US hospital costs; they are a "striking argument", he declares, for national health insurance. . . . And Georgia warns the University campus paper to stop attacking racial segregation on penalty of losing state funds.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Nixon vs Knowland

VICE-PRESIDENT Richard Nixon and Sen. William F. Knowland both are fighting hard to gain control of the party in California. And when Glenard Lipscomb won in the state's Twenty-fourth Congressional district, Nixon scored against Knowland.

Pressure from the national Republican organization—which demanded a halt to the succession of Democratic victories—forced a belated endorsement of Lipscomb from Knowland. But Lipscomb is Nixon's man. He served as Nixon's campaign executive secretary in 1952. And the Vice-President sent Murray Chotiner—his key wire-puller at the Chicago convention—to spark Lipscomb's campaign during the closing days.

Earl Warren's control of California had been based largely upon personal appeal. He had the votes of many Democrats and Independents who considered him free from regular party domination. But the men who seek to replace him do not enjoy that measure of popular support; they must base their power on the party machine. If either Nixon or Knowland, for example, plans a bid for the Presidency he will need the wholehearted support of the big California delegation. Their rivalry threatens the party's unity in the state.

All this makes Democrats hopeful. The Twenty-fourth Congressional district seat will be contested again next year. And George L. Arnold, the defeated Democrat, is expected to try again. In defeat he did better than Democrats normally do in that district. He pulled a bigger percentage of the votes than Adlai Stevenson did in 1952, and that has made Democratic leaders in the district and in the state optimistic about their chances should the Nixon-Knowland feud split the Republican forces.

They believe Arnold would have made an even better showing had not the Harry Dexter White issue been exploded on the eve of the election. Arnold himself has said: "There is a strong Roman Catholic element in the district, and I am sure the White issue affected their vote."

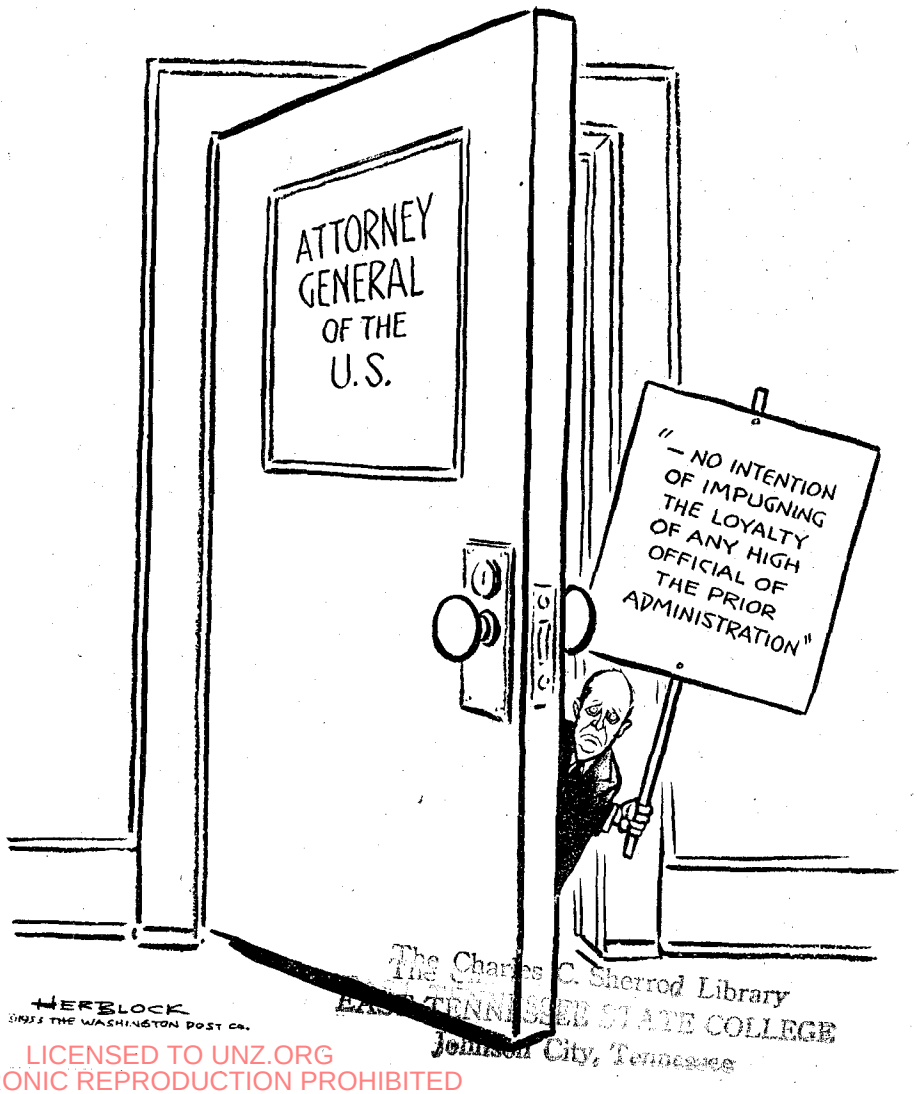
Registered Democrats in the state outnumber registered Republicans. With Warren absent and the Republican Party torn by feuds, Democrats believe that their future candidates may begin to benefit from this majority.

Thus Spake Ezra

LATE IN September, Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson announced under pressure that his department would "study" the spread between farmer and housewife prices on beef—beef only.

Early in May Republicans killed a proposed Federal Trade Commission investigation of why the cost of an average family food basket is up $18 although the farmer receives $7 less for the products in the basket. House Republicans attached a rider to the FTC appropriation bill expressly forbidding the investigation. Senate Republicans voted 9 to 1 to support their brethen. Democratic Senators voted 3 to 1 for the study.

Just a few days ago, the Securities and Exchange Commission reported that the food processing industry's profits for the second quarter of this year were, *after taxes,* 18 percent above first quarter profits. During the same period the farmer's share of the con-


ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE U.S.
"— NO INTENTION OF IMPUGNING THE LOYALTY OF ANY HIGH OFFICIAL OF THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION"
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DRAWS THE WASHINGTON POST CO.

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sumer dollar dropped another 2 cents to 45 cents, in 1945 it was 53 cents. One example of the effect at the retail level: cattle prices, 93 percent of parity in January, are down to 71 percent; between July and August beef and veal prices rose by 6 percent.

The only word from Benson's department is a prophecy uttered on October 26: housewives are not likely to be benefited by the bumper harvest and the "moderate" drop in farm prices expected next year; retail charges will remain high because "marketing charges" will remain high.

A Man of Means

ARTHUR M. SAMISH is California's arch-lobbyist—a long-time foe to ex-Governor Warren and "friend" to present Governor Goodwin Knight. He has often boasted, "I'm the Governor of the legislature. To hell with the Governor of the state."

Samish currently is being tried on an income-tax evasion charge. Milton Biow, head of the nation's eighth largest ad agency has revealed that he paid Samish $100,000 to get and hold the Schenley Distillers account. "Art was a man of great influence at Schenley's," said Biow.

Samish "was a man of great influence" in other quarters too. He once testified that the California Brewers Institute made available more than $1 million to him between 1946 and 1951, to have "good, honest men" elected to the California legislature.

Facade

A MID-CENTURY Conference on Resources has been scheduled for December by Resources for the Future, Inc. The conference is to survey our resources, the demands upon them, and the best methods of using and conserving them. It is expected that the findings will influence national policy.

Eight steering committees will lead discussion on various aspects of the resources problem. But although the announced list of sponsoring organizations indicates a wide range of views, places on the steering committees have been allotted so as to give industry spokesmen a four to one edge over representatives of farm, labor and public groups. The Committee on Energy Resources, for example, includes one labor man as against six representatives of such firms as Standard Oil, Calif., J. P. Morgan & Co. and Utah Power and Light. Similarly, a five to one ratio between industry and other groups has been established on the committees for Non-Fuel Minerals and for US Concern with World Resources.

On the Conference Steering Committee, industry has been given eight seats, other groups five. On the Board of Directors the ratio is five to two. The Chairman and co-chairman of the Conference both are from industry—Lewis N. Douglas, General Motors and H. W. Steinkraus, Bridgeport Brass—as is the president of Resources, Inc.—Horace Wm. Albright, US Potash.

Some of the public groups already have stated that unless this imbalance of representation is righted, they will not lend their names to the Conference.

Minute Men

REPUBLICAN right-wingers are rejoicing over the off-year election results and Eisenhower's willingness to use McCarthy's tactics. The Administration, they feel, is tottering, and they will soon be able to take over. But they disagree as to means.

One group met this month in New York to talk over formation of a new party. The strongest backer of the proposed "American Party" is Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*. Hamilton Fish, former New York Congressman, has sent invitations to a select group of Eisenhower Republicans to dine with Colonel McCormick on Thanksgiving Eve. The same group met last year and decided to hold off on a new party until Eisenhower showed his hand.

A second group prefers to bore from within and capture the GOP machinery. At a recent Omaha, Nebr., meeting, some 100 "constitutional" and "patriotic" groups calling themselves the "Congress for Freedom" turned down a third party and planned to form a pressure group to swing the GOP further to the right. Archibald Roosevelt, son of Teddy Roosevelt, presided.

Both groups talk of running Joe McCarthy for President in 1956.

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Fair Play in Politics

by Wilfred E. Binkley

FOR THE THIRD time in less than a century we are in the midst of a concerted drive against the Presidency. Lincoln had necessarily exalted the office only to have it promptly degraded by the hysterical drive against his successor, culminating in the absurd impeachment and near conviction of President Johnson. The second peak of Presidential power came during World War I in the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson, who broke physically under the strain of the Senate's pressure to subordinate the Executive.

The third peak of prestige came in the Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt. We are now in the midst of the reaction; that is another drive to emasculate the Presidential office.

There is the 22nd Amendment limiting a President to two or even one and one-half terms, which restriction deprives the Chief Executive of the power once inherent in the uncertainty as to whether he would be a candidate again. Another move is the proposed Bricker Amendment which would notify foreign nations that, in negotiating with our Executive, their agreements would have to run the gauntlet not only of the Senate, with its two-thirds majority but also of the House and of the Courts. Still another part of the current drive against the Presidency is the plan of Sen. William Jenner (R, Ind.) to put policy determining during the Eisenhower Administration practically in a commission consisting of the chairmen of Senate committees.

Because of unfamiliarity with the facts of life in the game of partisan politics, President Eisenhower has unwittingly contributed to this drive against the Presidency as an office and a symbol. For let it be remembered the President is not only Chief Executive but also Chief of State, and partisan fury can never eradicate a deep-seated popular conviction that the President is a symbol of national unity whether in the person of a Roosevelt, a Truman or an Eisenhower.

A President who had come up from the precincts might have known that giving the Attorney General his sanction of an attack on former President Truman in an address before an Executives Club would let loose a chain reaction. Such was the setting in the midst of a series of by-elections of Congressmen, that the Attorney General's speech converted the Department of Justice, for the time being, into a department of purely partisan politics.

Of course, as he said later, President Eisenhower would not have subpoenaed former President Truman. It is inconceivable to him that Truman knowingly would do anything to damage the United States. President Eisenhower, at the beginning of his Administration, had declared that barring disloyal and dangerous persons from office is an Executive rather than a Congressional function.

But now the Attorney General's "bomb," exploded with the President's consent, has tossed this matter into the lap of the Congressional investigating committees. Witness the frantic race, between House and Senate committees, one sending a process server to South Carolina by plane admittedly "to beat the Senate to the punch." Chairman Velde subpoenaing Truman without consulting fellow committeemen, in wanton violation of a rule adopted to prevent his doing just such things; the consideration of a possible joint meeting of the Senate and House Committees to provide "a more juicy hearing." Once the seal is broken, the genii is out and no earthly incantation can reconfine it. And it could all have been done in a way creditable to the nation and the Administration by able and experienced leadership.

Republicans need now to consider seriously the narrow margin by which they hold their majority in the House and its actual non-existence in the Senate. There is now the possibility, if not the probability, that the Congressional elections of next year will transfer the chairmanship of every committee in both houses to Democrats. What about the blithely established precedents that can, in due time, be turned to the disadvantage if not the ruin of the Republican Party? If the FBI files are to be exploited against Democrats in this Congress, what is to prevent their being turned against Republicans in the next or in a still later Congress? Let it not be forgotten that human frailty is bipartisan, and the new weapons brought so jubilantly into use happen to be double-edged.

The purpose of government and politics is to discover and devise ways of living together in what Aristotle called "a common life for a noble end." In the higher levels of party politics, far above those of partisan trickery, nothing pays richer dividends than magnanimity. Washington and Lincoln possessed this noble quality in the highest degree and moreover they knew how to use it because of a long experience in public affairs. They knew the wisdom of fair play, something the American electorate may still value to a degree just now unsuspected.

Wilfred E. Binkley, professor of political science at Ohio Northern University, is the author of The President and Congress *and an authority on the role of the Presidency in the United States.*

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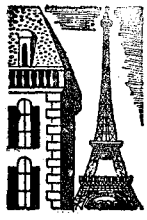
Paris Dispatch: BASES AND BAYONETS

The winds from Moscow are chilling much of the hope in Western Europe for some better sequel to Cold War than an equally cold and comfortless peace. But the contradictory and often confusing words from Washington—and also from other places where US officials loosen their tongues with or without Pentagon or White House clearance—haven't been improving the Western European political climate either.

With or without hope, most Western Europeans are convinced nevertheless that this period, short or long, cannot be merely negative and static; first because it's quite definitely time for a change; second because there's the growing impression that though the official Russian and American political refrains continue to run in old, familiar grooves, changes—deep, serious, even momentous changes—are already taking place in the plans both of Moscow and Washington.

Officials in Paris and London said off the record that the Russian note might have been written by or for Stalin himself. But many ordinary people, not bound by the reticences of office, thought the icy chill of the language came not so much from the depths of Stalin's grave as from the heights of the upper atmosphere, from those radioactive particles still lethally abroad after Russia's recent explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs, which may make Moscow consider itself Washington's equal as a non-negotiator from strength. And the US words which have contributed to lower the political temperature have come for the most part from men concerned with similar matters.



In Paris, for example, Admiral Arthur W. Radford held an ultra-secret briefing session for top US officials in Europe on the new military strategic plan. Naturally, what he said leaked out. The Admiral confirmed what most top political officials in Washington seem bent on denying and what most Europeans believe the more grimly therefore—that the plan calls for a new form of military isolationism, for the US as the center and source of a vast world network of air and sea bases for nuclear weapons, for the reduction beginning in the 1955 fiscal year of US ground forces from about 3.5 million men to 2.5 million, for the replacement of these men by Europeans and Asians, and for telling nobody (but *nobody*) about all this until it is well under way.

In Madrid, Air Secretary Talbott said—without any denial later from Washington—that: "Our *first* line of defense lies in Germany." That was clear and simple enough. Yet Talbott found it wise enough to add "but *definitely!*"—and this in the city where Francisco Franco considered it tactful (for the democratic peoples beyond the Pyrennees) to tell the Fascist Falange organization in public that the Hispano-American deal made it more than ever before the heart and core of the regime.

Then in Bonn, Radford joined General Hendy in glowing praise of the fighting qualities of the German foot-soldiers. We had fought against them in two wars, so *we* knew, Hendy explained. (Some Western Europeans also knew something about German foot-soldiers trampling their hearths and homes; but that's another story.) The Admiral let it be clearly understood that some of these splendid soldiers—at the least 12 divisions of them—would be expected to make up some of the difference between the 3.5 and the 2.5 million Americans. The talks in Bonn, he said, had already taken up technical matters of arms.

Equally frankly, he said it might be necessary to find an alternative for the European Defense Community in the event that some members of the French National Assembly (presumably failing to appreciate the virtues of the German foot-soldier) blocked ratification of the treaty. But that wasn't his affair; it was, he said, a matter for the political leaders. Meantime, he and the other US military chiefs were quite "naturally" planning for "*all* contingencies."

The battle over the European Defense Community in France continues, but the real issue has changed: it has become the issue of Franco-German relations in the broadest sense, not only military and political, but economic, moral, emotional, human. If the French hesitated about the EDC, caught as they were in the US-Soviet cross-ruff, they are bound to be forced into deeper and more passionate controversy now.

The issue isn't any longer a choice between Russia and the US, or between Communism or democracy, or even between partnership or co-operation with the Germans. It is, as the *Manchester Guardian* rightly notes, "the survival of France as an influential power."

Pierre Mendes France said of his countrymen not long ago: "We are in 1788." He meant that forces almost as explosive as those of the revolution of 1789 would inevitably gather unless solutions of world and European military and political problems were sought and found in close relation to urgent domestic economic and social problems. The US master plan provides for no such relationship. Answering Mendes France, the Minister of the Interior in the Laniel Government, Leon Martinaud-Deplat, said the other day that France was in 1917, that is, at war. The task, he explained, was to sweep away treason; and, anyone who opposed the principle of the EDC was a traitor. This was true equally of "authentic nationalists" and of Communist defeatists.

Mendes France said that discouragement and despair were widespread and that the only hope was a French New Deal. Martinaud-Deplat, using a startlingly McCarthyish language, castigated the opponents of the EDC as intriguers and snobs as well as traitors, among whom "sexual deviation" often goes hand in hand with "intellectual deviation." For the French, with their traditions of tolerance, these are fighting words. The top-official who used them did so in defense of partnership with a Germany whose Chancellor recently appointed as Secretary of State in the Bonn Ministry of the Interior the man who wrote the introduction to the Nuremberg race laws for Adolf Hitler.

If the Pentagon and the White House aren't more careful, "all contingencies" may have to include the possibility of revolution against, or civil war within, Atlantic policy in France.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: Sixteen Men on a Dead Man's Chest

IN AUGUST, 1945, Elizabeth Bentley walked into the New Haven office of the FBI and described her Soviet espionage group. The FBI, apparently, took her story lightly at first. Its response, on October 11, was to ask her to come to its New York office to describe in further detail her passing reference to a friend who posed as an FBI agent. Only when she repeated her story, on November 8, did the FBI piece it together with the account of Whittaker Chambers and the information gathered by tapping the wires of Soviet officials during the war. Hurriedly the FBI prepared its memorandum and gave it distribution so wide as to be indiscreet.

The members of President Truman's Cabinet who met to consider the report lacked the substantiating evidence that later came to light. They had only the word of former Communist agents accusing men high in government. The most important of the 18 men named by Miss Bentley was one she had never even met. This man, Harry White, had been confirmed by the Senate for appointment to the International Monetary Fund by the time the FBI report reached the President.

The President and his Cabinet did not promote treason or shut their eyes to treason as Brownell asserts. Nor, we believe, did they keep White on in government simply in order to trap him, as some maintain. An untried Administration was confronted with a new problem, and it moved slowly. Secretary Fred Vinson gradually isolated White. Secretary James F. Byrnes (who must logically be the next target of Brownell's attack) held a Departmental inquiry and accepted the partial defense offered by Alger Hiss. If the Cabinet members were slow to recognize the threat of Communist infiltration, or anxious to avoid open scandal, their views were less important than the overriding objections of the FBI to premature publicity. The FBI approach was stated plainly in Congressional testimony by J. Edgar Hoover in 1950:

> Counter-espionage assignments of the FBI require an objective different from the handling of criminal cases. In a criminal case the identification and arrest of the wrongdoer are the ultimate objectives. In an espionage case the identification of the wrongdoer is only the first step. What is more important is to ascertain his contacts, his objectives, his sources of information and his methods of communication. Arrest and public disclosure are steps to be taken only as a matter of last resort. It is better to know who these people are and what they are doing, and to immobilize their efforts, than it is to expose them publicly and then go through the tireless effort of identifying their successors.

The decision to reopen the vein of 1946 for political blood was made in October, 1952, on the Eisenhower campaign train. The Democrats made the mistake of bringing J. Edgar Hoover's name into the campaign. Eisenhower's staff resolved then to make continuing use of government files against the old Administration.

In this effort, the White House and Brownell worked closely with the Republican high command. Rep. Richard Simpson, Chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee, returned from a national tour, declaring that while economy and tariffs won no response from audiences, the name of McCarthy was greeted with wild applause. The *Wall Street Journal* reveals that new attention was given in October to "the possibility of hitting hard from now until next November at the issue of Communists in government." It quotes a high Republican official: "The suggestion has been made in the very highest party discussions that the Communist issue is a very live one, and that we would be wise to make the most of it."

A leader in the discussions was Herbert Brownell. As Attorney General he emphasized the need not only for exposure, but for successful prosecution of Communist agents whom the previous administration failed to send to jail. All the necessary evidence was in Brownell's possession. Only the law and the Constitution stood in his way. In one of his few public comments following the Chicago speech, Brownell stressed that his revelations were pointed to the destruction of the ban on evidence gained by wiretapping and the protection afforded witnesses by the Fifth Amendment.

The Republican setbacks in New York and New Jersey touched off the dynamite Brownell had stored away. Leonard Hall, the Republican Chairman, declared that his party was in trouble and called on the President to start acting like a Republican. Another "party leader" is quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* as "surveying the wreckage of New Jersey" and concluding "We do have one thing the Democrats don't have—McCarthy." In long conferences with the White House and Brownell Republican officials demanded that the attack on the Democrats be started in time to hold California. So a co-ordinated campaign was set in motion. Brownell wrote his passages on White into a pedestrian speech prepared by the Department of Justice press officer. Leading Republicans were notified in advance to exploit the speech. An hour after it was delivered Senator Jenner released his subpoena for General Vaughan. Within minutes of Truman's first denial, Eisenhower's press secretary was handing out mimeographed copies of the former President's friendly letter to White. Brownell

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himself telephoned Governor Byrnes to make certain that he was ready with his confirmation of Brownell's charge. Only Representative Velde was not warned to lie low. Naturally when he sprang onto the stage, the White House moved to pull him back into the wings. The circus act in which the elephant was engaged was too profitable to be ruined by a clown.

For the sake of this political maneuver, Brownell has made a travesty of the law he is charged with enforcing.

Brownell chose a dead man as the target of his initial attack. In White he felt that he had an airtight case. And yet a dead man who cannot defend himself can be cited, but not convicted. For it is basic to the American concept of justice that no man can be convicted without defense. Yet, Brownell himself convicted White in branding him flatly as a "Soviet spy." That is a finding, not an accusation. No Attorney General has any right to make a finding because the right is reserved, under the Constitution, to a court of law.

Beyond this Brownell made the gravest charge ever levelled at a former President by an Attorney General, and without proof. No backtracking, no double talk, no cries of misrepresentation can remove from Brownell's record the stain of his charge that White "was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him to the most sensitive and important position he ever held in government."

Still further Brownell violated the unwritten Constitution of tradition which protects the internal dealings of the Executive. The secret files of the Executive are protected. So are the conferences of the Chief Excutive and his subordinates. The tradition does not mean that Congress must be blocked in investigating improprieties or preparing legislation. Nor does it mean that tradition cannot be broken to prevent a still greater danger. But no Congressional investigation, no criminal charge, no pending legislation on impending catastrophe justified Brownell's flouting of important tradition.

Last, and gravest, Brownell undermined the non-political status of the FBI.

When the FBI was organized in 1924, the Attorney General, Harlan Stone, warned of the tremendous evils inherent in its misuse for political ends. "There is always the possibility," Stone declared, "that a secret police system may become a menace to free government and free institutions." The safeguard, he insisted, was to limit the FBI solely to investigating the commission of crimes.

For 15 years the FBI was kept within this orbit. Then, in 1939, President Roosevelt assigned to it investigation of espionage and sabotage. In 1947 the FBI was given further extension of power when President Truman assigned to it full responsibility for investigating under the Federal Loyalty Program.

With these new functions the FBI took two perilous steps toward a political police. First it began to accumulate dossiers on individuals as well as on crimes. Secondly it adopted the theory of preventive action that led it to investigate the attitudes of Americans to determine whether they might some day commit a crime.

So the FBI files became the repository of evil and malicious gossip as well as of proven fact. And not only its raw files dealt in rumor. On the one occasion, during the trial of Judith Coplon, when FBI reports were made public, they were found to cover individuals who had no connection with the federal government and private, personal actions wholly unrelated to crime.

THIS IS today the heart of Brownell's problem in his plan to make Communists in Government the issue that can perpetuate his party's failing grip on power.

If Brownell honors the secrecy of the FBI files, then he has nothing to add to the stories of enterprising reporters who can combine the accusations of Chambers and Miss Bentley and the public careers of men accused.

If Brownell releases for political purposes the files he is charged with guarding, he will make a political police out of the FBI.

If Brownell dabbles in the files, as he has done so far, he will repeat the blunder condemned by Judge Albert Reeves who presided at the first Coplon trial. "If it turns out that the government has come into court exposing itself," said Judge Reeves, "then it will have to take the peril. If it embarrasses the government to disclose relevant material, then the government ought not to be here."

By his actions, Brownell has shown himself unfit to be the chief legal officer of the United States. And yet the issue in the White case is not legal, but political. The man responsible is not Brownell but Dwight Eisenhower. Where, today, does the President stand?

No responsible executive can permit slander to be heaped upon those who must carry his program through.

No forthright party leader can sanction a campaign and then absolve himself from its ugliest excesses when by its basic nature the campaign must lead to abuse.

Not even an aging monarch on a tottering throne delegates to a subordinate the decision as to whether to impugn the honor of a former chief of state.

The President sets the political temper of the nation. It is an ugly temper that Eisenhower has encouraged to rise. Nor is there any comfort in supposing that to each attack, a solid reply will be made. Nothing remains today of the original charges made by McCarthy in Wheeling, West Virginia. But McCarthyism has grown, spreading hatred, intolerance, division and unreason.

So may this campaign grow, under Eisenhower's benevolent eye. There is creeping fascism, as well as creeping socialism, to be opposed in the name of the American Spirit. Mindful of its threat we should remember the warning of Louis Brandeis:

"Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well meaning but without understanding."

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Too Many Short Cuts

Haste and intolerance among crusaders can rewrite the nation's fundamental law.

by William O. Douglas

HISTORY SHOWS that governments bent on a crusade, or officials filled with ambitions have usually been inclined to take short-cuts. The cause being a noble one (for it always is), the people being filled with alarm (for they usually are), the government being motivated by worthy aims (as it always professes), the demand for quick and easy justice mounts. These short-cuts are not as flagrant perhaps as a lynching. But the ends they produce are cumulative; and if they continue unabated, they can silently rewrite even the fundamental law of the nation.

I was reading the other day the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh which was held on November 17, 1603. It was one of the treason trials at the commencement of the reign of James I. James seemed determined to suppress the Catholics. And so plots were apparently hatched against him. One was to kidnap the King and by fear obtain from him a full toleration of the Catholic religion. Another was to enlist Spanish support and place Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne. It was in the latter conspiracy that Raleigh was charged with being involved. Raleigh was suspected of having ample grounds for joining the plot: Elizabeth had granted him a monopoly of licensing taverns and retailing wines which James refused to renew; and the post of Captain of the Guards had been taken from Raleigh and bestowed upon another.

The indictment charged that Lord Cobham and Raleigh were the conspirators. Lord Cobham was not produced at the trial. His examination before the Privy Council, however, was introduced in evidence. So were his letters. Raleigh, knowing that Cobham had retracted the confessions that implicated him, wanted Cobham produced as a witness. And so Raleigh said: "The Proof of the common law is by witness and jury: let Cobham be here, let him speak it. Call my accuser before my face, and I have done."

Raleigh was overruled. Lord Chief Justice Popham said, "This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of Treasons should flourish."

Justice Warburton added, "I marvel, Sir Walter, that you being of such experience and wit, should stand on this point; for so many horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without witnesses."

Raleigh once more asked that Cobham be produced to testify: "Let my accuser come face to face and depose. Were the case but for a small copyhold, you would have witnesses or get proof to lead the jury to a verdict; and I am here for my life."

Lord Chief Justice Popham ruled once more: "There must not such a gap be open for the destruction of the King, as would be if we should grant this."

Cobham was never produced at the trial. And Justice Warburton was frank enough to give the reason—that if Cobham were called, he might retract what he had confessed before the Privy Council.

A virus had infected the trial and put it beyond salvation. The one witness called, a man by the name of Dyer, testified to the rankest form of hearsay. Dyer swore he had been to the house of an unnamed merchant in Lisbon and that he had met there an unnamed English gentleman who said James would never be crowned because "Don Raleigh and Don Cobham will cut his throat ere that day come."

The prosecutor for the Crown, Lord Edward Coke, was by modern standards guilty of gross misconduct. His exchanges with the accused would never be tolerated in any court in this nation; they rank indeed with the most bizarre activities of any investigating officer we have ever known:

> Coke: Thou art the most vile and execrable Traitor that ever lived.
>
> Raleigh: You speak indiscreetly, barbarously, and uncivilly.
>
> Coke: I want words sufficient to express thy viperous Treasons.
>
> Raleigh: I think you want words, indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.
>
> Coke: Thou art an odious fellow, thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride.
>
> Raleigh: It will go near to prove a measuring cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney.
>
> Coke: Well, I will now make it appear to the world, that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou.

Raleigh stood alone without any counsel to aid him,

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facing the best legal array the Crown could produce. Ideas of decency and fairness were discarded, the judges and the prosecutor became instruments of revenge, not justice, and Raleigh was sent to his death on a record which by modern standards contained no more than a shred of competent evidence.

As students of those times have pointed out, the real trials took place in the Privy Council where the proceedings were secret and where torture was used. In the jury trial that followed, there was no power of an accused to call a witness, no right to counsel. There was moreover no weighing of the credibility of a witness, no effective cross-examination, no confrontation of witnesses. Cross-examination was indeed the instrument of the Crown, used by the prosecutor and the judge to riddle the accused and secure his conviction. "The opinion of the times," Stephens said, "seems to have been that if a man came and swore to anything whatever, he ought to be believed, unless he was directly contradicted."

This was some of the stuff behind the clamor for a Bill of Rights at the time of the adoption of our Constitution. It was the farcical trials of Raleigh and others that brought into the debates on the Constitution, as reported by Elliot, the demands for the guarantees of procedural due process now contained in the Fifth and the Sixth Amendments.

THERE WAS experience closer to home that also made the Fathers insistent that procedural safeguards be placed in the Constitution. The Special Court of Oyer and Terminer sat in the Colony of Massachusetts from June to September, 1692, trying men and women for witchcraft. The judges were laymen. The Attorney General was a merchant. No person trained to the law had anything to do with the court or the trials. In 1692 20 persons were tried for witchcraft and each of them found guilty. Most of them were hung; one—an old man of 80—was pressed to death.

The court was sustained by the prevailing opinion of the age. It was a popular tribunal, the trials being only a form of executing the vengeance of the community. The outbreakings of the multitude that crowded the trials took the place of rules of procedure.

The records of that court illustrate what happens when popular opinion rather than law provides the standards under which men are tried. That was a court freed of the technicalities of the law. Judges and jurors were allowed to follow their own instincts and desires. There was no restraining influence. The judges and officers who participated were honest and sincere. But they were wholly unfit to hold the scales of justice. They had no familiarity with rules of law or procedural due process.

It is inconceivable that in 1692 such proceedings could have been conducted in Massachusetts had there been in existence a Bar educated in the rudiments of law. The conscience of the community soon caught up with this judicial extravagance. In 1693 the Superior Court of Judicature, which superseded the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, had a record mostly of acquittals. And all of the persons convicted before it were pardoned. But the records of the witch trials left ugly scars not soon forgotten.

We have today no exact parallel of the treason trial of Raleigh, no exact counterpart of the witch trials of the Massachusetts Colony. But we have trials and investigations which perpetuate some of the evils of Raleigh's trial and of the witch trials. We have practices and procedures that impinge heavily on the liberties of the citizens. We deprive men of jobs and destroy their reputations with practices as callous as those involved in the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh. What greater inroad on liberty can there be than an official condemnation of a man without due process? There are three aspects of this problem:

First. During the 14 years I have sat on the Supreme Court I have seen many records of criminal trials. During that time it has seemed to me that the quality of prosecutors has markedly declined. I speak only in terms of the *average,* realizing full well that many prosecutors have adhered faithfully to our finest traditions. But in some cases it seemed that the prosecutors were resorting to modern witchcraft, confusing the "internal and external aspects of the Communist threat"—to use the recent words of Ambassador George F. Kennan—in an effort to get the spectre into the jury room. Sometimes they almost seemed to emulate the example of Coke in Raleigh's trial. Sometimes they treated the courtroom not as a place of dignity, detached from the community, but as a place to unleash the fury of public passion. And in that project the press has played a part. It has pumped into the jury room hearsay, confessions, theories, and influence which if done in the courtroom would result in mistrials. Yet District Judges, I know, feel that the effect on the end product of the proceedings was probably as fatal as if they themselves had sanctioned the barrage of propaganda and allowed it to infect the trials.

Second. We have built in the country a vast network of wiretappers and eavesdroppers. In New York City alone there were in 1952 at least 58,000 permits issued to tap wires, a practice which in sturdier days a great Olympian, Mr. Justice Holmes, condemned as "dirty business." By 1949 the *New York Times* reported that so many wires were being tapped that officials hardly dared speak a confidence over the telephone.

Third. We allow important charges to be proved against a person in administrative proceedings on the testimony of witnesses whose identity and, therefore, whose prejudices are never known to the government or to the accused. Some of these cases involve proceedings against persons deemed "subversive" or poor security risks and therefore not eligible for employment with the government. Others implicate outsiders who must face

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the rigors of administrative hearings in order to have their rights or status determined. These too are denied knowledge of the identity of the persons who accuse them.

As a result the cloak of anonymity is thrown over a growing underground of informers. As that secrecy mounts, the reliability of the information obtained must necessarily decline. One who is not put to the test of an oath, one who need not face his victim with the charge, one who need not suffer the torment of cross-examination can become quick and reckless with his whispered accusations. The consequences are not only disastrous to the individual; they reflect upon the tribunals which administer the system, just as Raleigh's trial reflected on the prosecutor and the judges.

Necessity is advanced as the reason for this practice—that there would be no informers if their identity were disclosed, that if facts are to be discovered, the sources of the information must be protected. That is always the justification of the police. It was the time-honored excuse of monarchs. That was the philosophy of Justice Warburton in Raleigh's trial: "for so many horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without witnesses." That, I submit, is a philosophy repellent to our traditions. I know that the current of decisions in the state and federal courts is opposed to the position I take. But I speak, I think, the conscience of the law when I say the practice should be condemned.

Today fear eats away at the hearts of men, until even old neighbors suspect one another. Alarms are sounded, anxieties are traded upon until a community does not know what to believe or whom to trust. There is, of course a real basis for a feeling of insecurity in the world today. The threat to the independence of nations as the result of Soviet imperialism is real and imminent. But responsible people in dealing with our domestic problems do not trade on that fear. They realize that the greatest peril to a people would come should the administrative agencies, the bureaucrats, the courts, the judges, and the procedure under which government operates ever become mere creatures of the popular will. Then hysteria and passion take over.

The press will commonly reflect (or even try to create) the view that the end justifies the means. Those of us dedicated to the law must stand before those gales. Calm, dispassionate, and disinterested judgment is of course the first requirement. But this can be had only in an atmosphere of decorum and under rules of procedure that keep every trace of the mob from the courtroom and reflect an innate respect for the rights of man. As Mr. Justice Brandeis once wrote "insistence upon procedural regularity" has been a powerful influence in the development of our liberty.

The eclipse of Spanish learning and literature after the 16th Century was doubtless due to the Inquisition and the vast schemes of censorship that followed in its wake. America does not stand in risk of any such eclipse. But we do need desperately to become associated, the world around, with ideas of freedom if we are to win the battle for men's hearts.

America, seen from abroad, seems alarmed, confused, and intolerant. The reasons are manifold. One important cause is a growing tendency in the interests of security to take short cuts, to disregard the rights of the individual, to sponsor the cause of intolerance, and to adopt more and more the tactics of the world forces we oppose. These practices and attitudes may go unnoticed here; but they make headlines in Asia. They are a powerful Voice of America, more powerful indeed than any program we can produce for radio broadcast. They have helped lose for America the commanding position of moral leadership which we had at the end of World War II.

LAST YEAR I visited Burma, torn by civil war for the last five years. For three years beginning in 1948 (when Burma received her independence) the Communists actually held nearly half of the provinces and administered the provincial governments. That condition has greatly changed; and the central government is now in control of most of the nation. I visited courts and talked with lawyers and judges both North and South. The writ of *habeas corpus* was flourishing and respected. Trials were conducted with dignity and decorum. A much higher standard governs the admission of confessions in criminal trials in Burma than in any court in the United States.

I saw Malaya under siege. Up in central Malaya at Ipoh, the capital of Perak, I saw criminal trials. The accused were desperate guerrillas dedicated to the Communist cause. Yet the court assigned each one a lawyer for his defense. The Bar of Ipoh—some 30 in number—was doing valiant work. Lawyers were assigned in rotation; and their defenses did credit to the highest traditions of the Bar. The courtrooms at Ipoh were quiet, majestic places, ruled over by stern but fair-minded judges. This was in the heart of jungle land where armed Communists worked night and day in guerrilla warfare to destroy the government. But there was no hysteria, no atmosphere of passion, no photographers, no pressure of the press demanding convictions. And the prosecutor was a quiet, fearless man of dignity.

A procedure that respects the dignity and worth of the individual and that gives him full justice in his relations with his government commands men's loyalties even against the Communist forces that masquerade behind slogans of brotherhood and equality. Respect for that procedure in this country will help keep us true to the ideals of freedom and tolerance which up to the end of World War II made America foremost in the hearts of people the world over.

That is the crusade I commend. The stakes are important, for the freedoms that are involved in the present world conflict are in final analysis mostly summed up in the concept of due process as we have come to know it.

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Now That 1954 Is Here

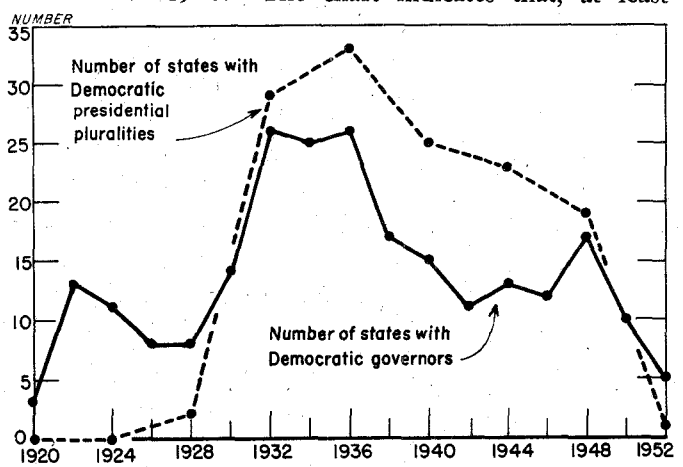
The party in power loses in off-year elections. Will the rule hold in the campaign now begun?

by V. O. Key Jr.

PROGNOSTICATORS about 1954, numerous though they are, focus mainly on the Congressional sweepstakes and pay little heed to probable party fortunes in the battles for control of the state governments. But in 1954, 26 of the 35 states outside the South will elect Governors. Only three of the 26 now have Democratic chief executives—Michigan, Ohio, Rhode Island.

Republicans demonstrated in the years preceding 1952 that victories in state campaigns could be ground-gaining skirmishes in the battle to control the nation as well as advantageous for the control of state policy. If Democrats propose to begin a comeback in the states, what are the prospects for 1954? In what states are Republicans most strongly entrenched? In what states would Democratic efforts have the greatest chance of yielding results?

One way to pull the discussion of such questions down from the clouds is to ascertain the relation between party strength in Presidential and gubernatorial voting, for the two types of voting run along fairly closely together. The figure below graphs out the record of 35 states outside the South since 1920. The chart indicates that, at least



broadly, trends in party strength in state and Presidential voting move in the same direction. It also indicates that in the 30's and 40's Democratic candidates for Governor fared less well than did the Presidential candidate. At the peak of Roosevelt's popularity in 1936, Democrats held only 26 of the Governorships of the 35 states. In 1938, the number of Democratic Governors declined abruptly. (The states excluded from the graph are Texas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Virginia and those to the South.)

In the Democratic phase of the political cycle, the success of Democratic gubernatorial candidates never matched that of the Presidential candidate. On the other hand, as may be seen from the chart, in the 1920s a similar gap prevailed between Republican strength in national and state voting. More states gave their electoral votes to Harding, Coolidge and Hoover than elected Republicans as Governors. From the chart alone it might be supposed that the number of states throwing their electoral vote to the Presidential candidate of the party in ascendancy, be it Republican or Democratic, exceeds the number that elects Governors from that party. If this should be generally true, Democrats could look forward with some hope to a modest net gain in Governorships in 1954 but to no substantial gain no matter how strenuous their efforts. To narrow down the possibilities, however, a closer look needs to be taken at the nature of the linkage between national and state voting.

Historically the Administration party has usually lost a few seats in the House of Representatives in the elections at the middle of Presidential terms. Without the President on the ticket, those who barely eased in on his coat-tails fall by the wayside at the following off-year elections although the length of the casualty list depends somewhat on other factors peculiar to each election. The question suggests itself whether this "normal" off-year slump in Administration strength carries over to the President's fellow partisans among the Governors?

The record for Presidential years and for off-years of states electing governors for two-year terms appears for the period 1932-1950 in Table 1 below. The table

Table 1. Two-Year Governors Outside the South, Chosen in Presidential Years and in Off Years, 1932-1950, Related to Democratic Percentage of State Presidential Vote

Democratic Presidential Percentage	Number of State Elections	Percent of Presidential Years	Democratic Off Years
Under 45	10	20.0	20.0
45-49.9	17	29.4	17.6
50-54.9	20	55.0	25.0
55-59.9	21	90.5	57.1
60 or more	15	93.3	80.0

indicates that in 78 percent of the instances in which Democrats carried the state electoral vote, Democrats were elected as Governors in the simultaneous state races. In contrast, in the off years, Democratic candidates won only 52 percent of such elections.

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The first table also reveals that the higher the popular Democratic percentage of the Presidential vote, the more likely was a Democrat to win the Governorship at the Presidential election and at the following mid-term election as well. Furthermore, a state that gave Democratic Presidential electors, say, 53 percent of its popular vote and simultaneously elected a Democratic Governor was much more likely to elect a Republican as Governor at mid-term than was a state that had cast, say, 60 percent of its vote for Democratic Presidential electors at the preceding Presidential polling. Nevertheless, the relation of Presidential and state voting was so loose that a considerable number of Republicans managed to win at the mid-term in states with quite high Democratic Presidential pluralities.

Does a reverse set of relationships operate when the Republicans are in the ascendancy nationally? Data for the years 1920-1930 appear in Table 2. Over this period 85 percent of the states voting Republican Presidentially simultaneously chose Republican Governors; in the off years, Republican candidates won only 42 percent of the Governorships of these states. Again, however, the differential appears to be in large degree a product of special circumstances, the depressions of 1921 and 1929 as reflected in the 1922 and 1930 voting, rather than primarily the result of regular dips in Republican strength in the off years. Nevertheless, the states with narrowest Presidential margins seemed most prone to change Governors at mid-term.

Table 2. Two-Year Governors Outside the South, Chosen in Presidential Years and in Off Years, 1920-1930, Related to Republican Percentage of State Presidential Vote

Republican Presidential Percentage	Number of State Elections	Percent of Governors Presidential Years	Republican Off Years
45-49.9	2	100.0	50.0
50-59.9	11	63.6	36.3
60-69.9	22	90.9	45.5
70-79.9	16	87.5	68.7
80-89.9	6	100.0	100.0

For whatever the record of past performance is worth, it suggests that a Republican Presidential victory in a state by a fairly good margin is not necessarily a bar to Democratic capture of the Governorship at the following off-year election. For those disposed to try their hand at armchair quarterbacking of campaigns there follows a list of those states with two-year Republican Governors that went for Eisenhower by from 50 to 60 percent of the two-party vote: Arizona, 58.4; Massachusetts, 54.4; Minnesota, 55.6; New Mexico, 55.6. The following states cast their electoral votes for the General by the percentages indicated but elected Democratic Governors: Michigan, 55.8; Ohio, 56.8; Rhode Island, 50.9.

Nine states which fix the terms of their Governors at four years will hold elections in 1954, including Connecticut, California, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming. Several of these states are recent converts to the off-year election schedule, a constitutional innovation probably not uncolored in some instances by a desire to deprive the Democratic gubernatorial candidate of the advantage of running on the ticket with FDR. The chances are that Republican gubernatorial candidates benefited from the "separation of state and national politics." In Table 3 the outcomes of gubernatorial elections in the four-year states electing in Presidential years and in the four-year states voting in off years from 1932-1950 are compared.

Table 3. Four-Year Governors Outside the South, Chosen in Presidential Years and in Off Years, 1932-1950, Related to Democratic Percentage of State Presidential Vote

Democratic Presidential Percentage	Presidential Years Governors Elected	Percent Democratic	Off Years Governors Elected	Percent Democratic
45-49.9	5	40.0	6	33.3
50-54.9	10	40.0	13	23.1
55-59.9	15	80.0	4	50.0
60 or over	10	100.0	11	63.6

All sorts of factors doubtless contributed to the greater success of Democratic gubernatorial candidates in the Presidential years than in the off years, as shown by the table, but undoubtedly the absence in the off years of the strength lent by the national ticket was influential. The question is whether the arrangement that aided Republican gubernatorial candidates in a period of Democratic national ascendancy will be converted into a liability in a period of Republican national ascendancy. If so, probably the Republican Governors potentially least secure in 1954 would be among those whose states gave the most narrow popular margins to Eisenhower in 1952. The four-year states with less than 60 percent for Eisenhower were: California, 56.9; Connecticut, 55.9; Maryland, 55.8; New York, 56.0; Pennsylvania, 53.0.

Fortunately for the Republicans there are not many states with a narrow 1952 margin. Whatever the 1952 margin, however, the play in party preference seems loose enough for Democrats to take heart and exert themselves in two types of situations. Such Republican Governors as there may be with records of inept leadership or of insensitivity to major state problems, whatever their 1952 Republican margin, should not be regarded as secure against able and determined attack. Further, if, as the consequences of the decisions of November 1952 unfold, particular Republican national policies turn sour in particular regions, they may be exploited to the advantage of Democratic candidates for state and local office. The impact of Republican policies on conservation, power and agriculture in the Western states may turn out to be worth watching in this connection.

If the general drift of this analysis is correct, Democrats cannot expect to make impressive gains simply as the fortunate beneficiaries of the ebb of the Republican tide. Democratic hopes must rest principally on organizations and leaders alert to make and take advantage of the breaks in the types of situations in which the general balance of partisan sentiment gives least Republican advantage. All this bars, of course, the unlikely possibility that Republican Governors turn out to be on a large scale the victims of some unforeseeable political Act of God.

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Russia Drives for a World "Labor Front"

by Arnold Beichman

FEW AMERICANS know of the existence of the 34-year-old International Labor Organization, a tripartite body of workers, employers and 66 governments, whose aim is to raise working standards throughout the world. Its conventions mean a great deal to workers in low-wage, under-developed countries.

ILO meetings have been relatively free of the rancorous East-West debates so characteristic of UN meetings, for example, in recent years. This was largely due to the fact that the Soviet Union, which left the ILO after its expulsion from the League of Nations in December, 1939, stayed out denouncing the ILO as "an instrument for protecting monopolies and trusts." There are five member governments from behind the Iron Curtain, but the organization has not been a world forum for the intercontinental Great Debate.

Today, the honeymoon may be over for the ILO. On November 6, the Soviet Union announced it had "decided to accept the obligations" of the ILO Constitution. Then, with true Soviet double-think, it outlined three major reservations to these "obligations":

1. It would "not consider itself bound" by an ILO constitutional provision that the International Court of Justice is to decide disputes among members nor would it recognize the Court's jurisdiction.

2. It introduced something new in ILO procedure—the power of veto, by stating that the "Soviet Union will maintain, as it has done heretofore, the position that the agreement of all parties concerned is indispensable in each individual case before a dispute of any kind is referred to the International Court of any other tribunal."

3. It announced that it "reserves its position with regard to all decisions of the ILO taken prior to acceptance by the Soviet Union."

Probably, there could have been no legal objection to the Soviet Union's entry into the ILO had its note declared simply the USSR had "decided to accept the obligations" of the ILO Constitution. A UN member, by merely making such an announcement, is considered to be a member of virtually all UN agencies.

There is, however, no question in the face of these Soviet "reservations," which could paralyze any ILO activity if accepted, that a fight against the Soviet application will arise either at the end of this month when the ILO Governing Body meets, or next June, when the annual conference is held in Geneva.

What the attitude of the American Government, the American Federation of Labor, which nominates the worker's delegate, and the CIO, which supplies advisers, will be, is at this moment officially unknown. Labor experts are aware that the Soviet Union's membership application is entwined with the big "unity" drive which the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions, has undertaken in an attempt to destroy the validity and effectiveness of Western foreign policy. This drive for an international "popular front" among workers started just before Stalin's death and never ceased. On January 23, the *Cominform Journal* declared:

> The Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries spare no effort in rallying all the healthy forces of the nation, all true democratic and patriots *around the working class* into a mighty united front of struggle for democratic freedom and national independence. [My italics]

Issue after issue of Communist labor publications in every language today demand "unity," "common action," "solidarity." More important, they demand *unité à la base*—a united front from below on "immediate" issues, that old Communist tactic, whose effectiveness in Italy and France is clear today.

And just as Soviet policy is to draw other democratic governments away from America, so while the Soviet government sought to enter the ILO, the WFTU Congress last month ordered its affiliates to "unmask the splitting policy of those who prevent this unity, like the leaders of the AFL and of the CIO of the United States."

The ILO can afford the Soviet Union a major area of activity in its world "labor front" campaign which is particularly directed at industrial and farm workers in Asia and Africa. To Geneva, come leading trade unionists, government ministers of labor, top employers from all parts of the world. Not all national labor movements belong either to the WFTU or the ICFTU but almost all of them belong to the ILO.

The presence of the Soviet Union, if it is successful in introducing the veto, will be another obstacle to exposure of Russia's slave labor system, its own and its satellites' systematic violations of trade-union rights. Against this, the constructive contribution which the Soviet Union can make to the ILO is minimal, judging by the fact that during its previous membership from 1934 to 1939, it never ratified a single ILO convention.

There is no question that by its insistence on "reservations," the Soviet Union has committed a diplomatic blunder. The most neutralist of governments will find it difficult to accept such outright defiance. The ILO may well reply to the Soviet note by saying that while it doesn't recognize the validity of the Soviet "reservations" Russia may, on this understanding, enter the ILO.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial Aspect*

WE HAVE in this country, I think, a class of Forgotten Men whose forgetting is the ruin of politicians, pollsters and other experts too numerous to mention. Washington sees categories; and because these people are unclassifiable they remain invisible; neither capital, labor nor agriculture; neither radical nor reactionary; neither conspicuously pious nor notoriously profligate; neither Democratic nor Republican, they fit into no pigeonhole and so are ignored until they turn up on election day with several million votes to upset all calculations including those based on statistics most carefully processed and weighted with a scientific precision that both Bohr and Rutherford would have to admire.

These are the people who know nothing except what comes over the air or is printed in the newspapers; who proceed on the assumption that the obvious is usually the truth; and who still ascribe to the Ten Commandments a very considerable moral authority. They are so remarkably unremarkable that they commonly pass unperceived until some problem numerically decided reveals their astonishing prevalence. Since the jig is then very definitely up, investigation of this group would be in the nature of a post-mortem, which is not very rewarding; and we usually fall back on what the experts report of capital, labor, agriculture and the rest, only to be astonished again at the next test of opinion.

I happen to live in a neighborhood inhabited by these very commonplace people; in fact, I happen to be one of them. Bolton Street in Baltimore is, I am certain, exactly like a thousand streets in American cities and towns except that some have elms and other have palmettos along the curbs where Bolton has sycamores and horse chestnuts. But under the elms and under the palmettos the people are very much what they are under the sycamores. They observe the superficial aspect of things and are guided accordingly.

Philosophers agree that this is terrible, but in Bolton Street we have an idea that there is more than a smart catch-phrase in the paint manufacturer's assertion that when you save the surface you save all. No doubt it is a half-truth, but it is half a truth, which, like half a loaf is better than none.

For instance, we regard the Presidency of the United States as a sort of front for the nation, the façade that it presents to the rest of the world, and we like that façade to be imposing. Of course, if an out-and-out, double-dyed villain ever got into the White House he ought to be impeached and dragged out. But tarnishing the Presidency for any lesser reason is not a good idea. It gives foreigners an excuse to sneer. We don't like people who lay us open to the sneers of foreigners.

More than that, we don't like exhumations. True, there are famous precedents. They dug up Oliver Cromwell when he had been dead four years and stuck his skull on a spike on Westminster Hall; but regardless of its justice it was a stinking procedure, which we do not care to have imitated in this country. We don't like people who seem to think it a good idea to decorate the Department of Justice with rows of grinning skulls.

These are superficial aspects of recent events, it is true, but when the superficial aspect of an affair makes you sick at the stomach you feel a certain reluctance to probe into its depths. You are more likely to take one look at the surface and get away from there, fast.

That is why I think that in Bolton Street we don't like Mr. Brownell very much. The legality of his proceedings may be beyond question, but the fact remains that he tried to smear the reputations of an ex-President and of a dead man; and it is not at all clear what good it would have done had he succeeded. Truman is out of office and White is dead. More than that, whatever they did in 1945 didn't ruin the country, for eight years later the country is still unruined. Why, then, tarnish the Presidency and invade the graveyard when it can accomplish nothing except give our enemies a chance to laugh?

Perhaps Adlai Stevenson was looking on the superficial aspect of things when he remarked during the late campaign that while everybody agrees that the General is all right, what about these one-eyed characters with knives in their teeth who are swarming aboard behind the General? Perhaps it was superficial, but one year later it begins to seem likely that he probed to the heart of the matter.

In any event, although Mr. Brownell's project may have been a master-stroke among the known categories, there is more than a possibility that the unclassified, unaccountable and invisible vote regards it as merely a bonehead play.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE REACH FOR ONE WORLD

by Reinhold Neibuhr

THE LATE Professor Borgese was a very eloquent man who in his final years devoted his eloquence to the one object of awakening his contemporaries to co-operating with what he regarded as the "logic" of history. That logic ordained the creation of world government as the "goal of mankind." He felt that we were standing in a period of history in which the nation-state was as clearly outmoded as a significant community of loyalty as the old city-state had been superseded in an earlier age by the great ancient empires.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORLD REPUBLIC, by Guiseppe Antonio Borgese (Chicago; $6.50).

Borgese was the inspirer of the effort known as "The Committee to Frame the World Constitution"; and the fruit of that Committee's work is printed as an appendix to his book.

Much of Borgese's book is devoted to eloquent meditations on the nature of justice, the relation of justice to clemency, and the nature and the validity of the "law of nature," to which the preamble of the projected world constitution appeals. They will be read with appreciation by any thoughtful reader, no matter what his convictions on world government may be. Other chapters are devoted to an analysis of the present state of the world and to the proof of the thesis that war in the present context of history is suicidal. No one will be inclined to argue with Borgese on this score.

The core of the book is however naturally devoted to his passionately held and eloquently expressed conviction, that it is time for thoughtful men to affirm a logic of history which world history has so clearly unfolded: that an inchoate world community lacks a world government to actualize a potentiality.

Borgese is not indifferent to the argument that a government can not create a community but can only perfect it. He contends that the potentials of world community are already given by the economic interdependence of the world and by such spiritual factors as the disintegration of world religions and the emergence of a single religion among, at least, the "elite" of the world. He writes: "At the elite or 'tree top' level this generation witnesses concord unprecedented since the age of humanism and the more recent one of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Now, as then, thinkers, scientists and poets speak one language in many inflections. They build one congregation of believers in progressive evolution, biological, and spiritual, the non-denominational faith of this age." This assertion is a rather pathetic proof of the sheer irrelevance of this book. For the non-denominational religion based in the hope of progress, which Borgese regards as a potential cement for the world community has never been as universally held as he believes. It was merely a rather widespread faith in the technically advanced nations, about which the people of Asia, for instance, had heard little. But what is more important, is that this allegedly universal religion is challenged today by another secular religion with an alternative apocalypse of history, which may be even more implausible but which attracts multitudes and is unfortunately incorporated in a tyrannical world power. Borgese incidentally never confronts the problem of what we must do about the recalcitrance of this tremendous world force, which is not impressed by our conception of the "logic of history" because it has its own version of historical logic.

There is, furthermore, a peculiar pathos in presenting faith in historical progress both as the dynamic driving men to world government, and as the potential basis of the world community which world government is to implement. For this faith has radically altered under the impact of contemporary history. The more sophisticated spirits of our age know very well that history moves forward but they realize, as their fathers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not, that historical development operates to place perennial human problems in an ever wider scope. It does not however guarantee the solution of these problems.

Obviously the problem of the human community has been set in global terms by historical development. Borgese believes rather belatedly that the necessity of world government is a proof of its possibility. Upon this *non sequitur* his whole argument rests. Meanwhile, we are living in a tragic period in which that which is necessary is not simply possible. Borgese does not descend from his heights as prophet of the future very often to guide this perplexed generation in the next steps which must be taken to avoid catastrophe and to take some proximate and possible steps.

Borgese deals with four objections to world government, some of which are rather trivial. His listed objections "One and Two" are "peace is corruptiveness" and "pacifism is sin." Under the first point he refutes the rather ridiculous glorification of war by the Italian poet, d'Annunzio; and under the second he polishes off those of us who are opposed to pacifism, though I doubt whether any anti-pacifist would dream of calling pacifism a "sin." They would probably all be surprised to find their anti-pacifism relevant to the problem of world government. The third objection refuted is that "there will be civil wars just the same." This objection has to do with the argument that our Constitution did not prevent our Civil War.

Borgese wants to know whether this fact should have discouraged our fathers in framing the Constitution. The answer is of course "no." Analogies of this kind between our Constitution and the projected world constitution abound. They do no justice to the differences between the integration of a national or imperial community and the global one.

The fourth objection refuted is that "world government is too much government." Borgese might have dealt with the serious problem of the danger to liberty in a super-government of the world. He chooses rather to prove the

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obvious proposition that quantitatively the force and extent of governmental power is much greater in the present state of international anarchy than it would be under an ideal world government.

Borgese, a refugee from Italian Fascism, was for years a force and ornament in American academic circles. There was a special lyrical quality about his prose, even when devoted to fairly technical subjects. He was a spiritual child of the Italian Renaissance. He significantly devotes a chapter to Dante's dream of universal peace though he does not elucidate the implications of Dante's *De Monarchia*. For Dante's global emperor would certainly have represented "too much government." If one celebrates the fires of idealism which burned in Borgese's soul, one must also regret that so eloquent a man could not have applied his gifts to more relevant issues. He does nothing in this book to dispel the impression that world government is a pleasant daydream. It may be a long-range goal, but it offers us no viable alternative to present policies.

INTO ONE PERSPECTIVE

JUST as Herbert Feis' illuminating research, *The China Tangle*, pulls together an objective, factual picture of how our wartime China policy was formed, so Robert North's *Moscow and Chinese Communists* brings together in one volume a factual and documented biography of the Chinese Communist Party, its conception, birth, adolescence and coming of age. Neither book, naturally, is able to deal with the life and vicissitudes of the Chinese people in modern times —a subject that awaits detailed research —and so the social springs of revolution in peasant China remain still to be tapped and assayed. But the more superficial record on the rise of Communism, and what the United States vainly tried to do about it, is emerging more clearly as research is published, and gives hope that our public reaction can develop rational and realistic underpinnings.

MOSCOW AND CHINESE COMMUNISTS, by Robert C. North (Stanford; $5).

The value of North's work is that he brings into one perspective such formerly disparate subjects as the Leninist ideology and its early expansion under the Comintern, the floundering of the Chinese republican revolution under Sun Yat-sen and his turning toward Moscow, the Russian success and failure in China in the 1920s, the eventual rise of Mao and his post-war victory, the American success and failure in China in the 1940s, and the nature and policies of the present Peking regime. This is one of the big stories of the modern age, and Mr. North brings to it both a clear and flexible narrative style and a wealth of careful research. Covering so much, it will no doubt in time be superseded in one aspect or another by further studies, and interpretations may be modified accordingly; but the general view here presented meanwhile gives a much needed perspective.

The author begins at the Russian end, with an analysis of the Leninist program for revolution in colonial Asia, including the use of cells and factions, the aim of precipitating nation-wide crises, the strategy of alliance with non-Communist groups and of championing democratic freedoms which are actually antithetic to Bolshevik purposes. He then traces the long series of Soviet overtures to the Kuomintang, their eventual collaborative arrangement and subsequent split, using mainly the Comintern publications in Russian and other Western languages. On the tortured course of the Communist movement in China during its transition from the masterminding of Stalin in the 1920s to the rise of Mao Tse-tung in the 1930s, North follows the lead of Benjamin Schwartz and others in using a variety of hard-to-get sources in Chinese and Japanese. He sees Mao as having finally established his leadership, as against his Moscow-trained rivals, in January 1935, during the Long March at the one time when the Chinese politburo was out of touch with the Kremlin for an extended period. Once in power, Mao received Moscow's blessing.

Seen against this background, the American approach to China in the 1940s, recounted mainly from the White Paper and Congressional hearings, emerges as inadequately informed about what we were dealing with. Mr. North stresses throughout his first two hundred pages the underlying power-aims of international Communism, its subversive political purposes and methods. From the summer of 1943 he believes there was a speeding up in the dual Russian and Chinese Communist programs for a Communist victory in China. Their power-aim was camouflaged under the moderate policies of the Yenan period, continued negotiations with the Kuomintang, and democratic pretensions. However, North does not underwrite the Republican attack on the Truman administration's policy. "Even in retrospect it is difficult to formulate an American course which, if followed, would necessarily have stopped or even seriously frustrated the Communists. . . . But the record shows nevertheless where various Western observers and decision-makers erred in their appraisals of Communist intent — and thus raises warnings for the future."

Moscow and Chinese Communists then turns to the record of the unbelievable Patrick J. Hurley, the various appraisals of our Foreign Service officers and military intelligence, the Yalta agreement, and subsequent developments which are more extensively and authoritatively dealt with in Feis' *China Tangle*. In his final look at the present Peking regime, North points up the totalitarian features stressed by Frank Moraes in his recent *Report on Mao's China*, and foresees that "we must expect the Communists to continue their policy of 'fight and talk, talk and fight'." His conclusion is that we can help Asians to save themselves from totalitarianism only by working with them tolerantly and cooperatively to meet their immediate local problems on more than a military level.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

SMALL LASTING VIRTUES

COLETTE turned eighty this year, and these translations of two early works come graciously enough as part of the celebration. And pointedly, since it is less her own longevity than that of her work which calls for celebration, when so many greater, more brilliant, and more serious works by her contemporaries have, in whatever hope of resurrection, now died. Colette invested from the beginning in small and slow but lasting virtues. Without imagination, she has cultivated her acuity and richness of sensuous perception; without ideas, she has cultivated common sense

MY MOTHER'S HOUSE and SIDO, by Colette, translated by Una Troubridge and Enid McLeod (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.50).

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and at least three kinds of Wisdom: female, village, and worldly; without the strength for large, new, or dramatic forms, she has evolved a wonderful skill in the textures and transitions of the anecdotical prose-poem; without power or passion, she has cultivated verve and tenderness, and above all her own strong, specific, mainly Burgundian *saveur*, which has made her irresistible.

Within her deliberate limitations she has the irreducible authenticity and natural body which more enterprising writers must risk and often lose. It is not her fault but that of the times that her present vogue supports and is supported by the contented few of the larger literate public. If she were not at the moment so dangerously safe and sound, one could let one's affections loose and praise her to the skies for having cultivated her garden so long and so well.

The present two books in one are a series of sketches, from many angles, of her adorable mother, "Sido," living a vivid and generous life inside her small household, garden, and village. The sketches are exquisitely composed, full of a delicious combination of pastoral poetry and Parisian irony, of an intimate but lucid sympathy for all creatures within its range. The original books first appeared in 1922 and 1929 and, considering the inevitable moisture of the subject, it is a triumph that they have gone neither soggy nor dry in all this time. To my ear the verbal style still holds its own and its tone, which carries through the translation.

The translators have done prodigiously well by Colette in their birthday present. But the preface by Roger Senhouse, while it contains some interesting information and passages from Sido's own letters to her daughter, is carried away by the occasion, trumpets deafeningly, fumbles its pronouns, and gets everything in general out of focus. Or perhaps this is the prettiest tribute of all to the unaging fascination of Colette—to have lost one's head.

DONALD SUTHERLAND

Notes on the Critics

REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S newest book is *Christian Realism and Political Problems.* JOHN K. FAIRBANK teaches at Harvard. DONALD SUTHERLAND is the author of a book about Gertrude Stein. R. Y. BURKS teaches at Wayne University. FREDERICK GUTHEIM is the author of *Houses for Family Living.*

EXPERT NATURALISM

JAMES HANLEY'S most recent novel, *The Closed Harbor*, is an excellent naturalistic nightmare. The chief character, Captain Marius, over whom days "crawl . . . like bugs," is haunted by his mother's impious certainty that he is no good, by his sister's incoherent love, by the efforts of the ugly saint, Labiche, to save him, by his own recognition of the extent to which he falls short of his father's bravery and honor. A captain who did not go down with his ship and who killed his nephew when his efficiency was questioned on shipboard, he spends his life wandering from cafe to brothel to shipping companies, trying to affirm the manhood he doesn't believe he has and to get the position he hopelessly hopes for. Ultimately the conflict between what he wishes of and for himself and what he knows is all he can get or be drives him to insanity.

THE CLOSED HARBOR, by James Hanley (Horizon; $3.50).

Mr. Hanley's expert naturalistic treatment will be familiar to those who have read his early *Boy*, a candid and sympathetic treatment of homosexuality forced upon a young sailor, or the many novels about the underprivileged. Mr. Hanley writes not to castigate but to make us understand. Despite the fact that his philosophical position has veered from Marxism to something that could be called Catholic Freudianism, he has been consistently candid and perpetually determined to deal with people the respectable prefer to ignore. He has preserved his faith in the underprivileged even when the expense has been inconsistency (as those who like philosophical rigidity would view it).

Mr. Hanley's favored character in *The Closed Harbor*, Labiche, probably represents his own present point of view (remarkably similar to his earlier attitude though the religion behind it is very different). Whenever Labiche hears someone is in despair or likely to become so, he tries to help even if he can't. He is Mr. Hanley's dog of heaven, always in search, occasionally finding; continually dissolving his own unhappiness in the search for the salvation of those who perhaps cannot be saved.

The Closed Harbor, because it is usually written with the accuracy and com-

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passion one associates with Zola, is a good novel. Since Mr. Hanley reproduces too meticulously the nightmares of his characters, he is not as exciting as more selective writers such as Graham Greene and Ivy Compton-Burnett. But he is far more interesting than the increasing number of writers who seem to know everything about craftsmanship and nothing about living.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

EAST OF THE CURTAIN

ORIGINALLY this well-written and quite witty work was composed as part of the series on American foreign policy edited by Professor Donald C. McKay of Harvard University. Three years have elapsed since the completion of the manuscript, and it is now published as an independent volume.

The delay in publication is difficult to explain. That Professor Sharp is an iconoclast, his treatment of the Warsaw rising of August 1, 1944, is adequate proof. While militarily directed against the retreating Germans, the insurrection was aimed politically at the advancing Russians. The London-influenced underground hoped to install a Western-oriented government in the capital before Soviet troops could enter its streets. So far from being spontaneous, the rising was the result of careful planning which went back as far as 1939; nor did the rising develop as the result of Russian urging, for the radio-diffused appeals of the Soviet were clearly directed to the Polish Communist underground (there was one). Though thoroughly embarrassed by the insurrection, the Soviets, after some hesitation, did send aid, very little, but roughly as much as was sent by the Western allies. This most unmythical presentation is based primarily on the official Polish history of the underground.

Professor Sharp holds that American policy toward Poland is, has been, and will be, a function of America's relations with Germany and with Russia, the two great powers between which the relatively impotent Polish population is sandwiched. At Yalta, in 1945, the Americans acquiesced in the recreation of the Polish state under Russian auspices because Soviet troops were already in occupation of the country and there was no way of driving them out, and because the Americans wanted Soviet help for their then impending invasion of Japan. At Stuttgart, in 1946, an American secretary of state announced that his country was not committed to the maintenance of Poland's new western frontier, a line which most Poles, even among the exiles, are bitterly determined to hold. The Americans in 1946 were busily wooing Germany as an ally in the new cold war with Russia. By implication, a third World War would see Poland's frontiers, and Polish interests, sacrificed to those of Germany.

Under such circumstances, the chances are that Poland will be somebody's satellite. Professor Sharp feels that the present Russian "deal" is preferable to what the victorious Nazis would have meted out. Industrialization through slave labor is a kinder fate than physical extermination. The picture of universal opposition to the present Communist regime is overdrawn. Only with the creation of a European Federation could Polish history lose its tragic quality.

Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field is both rigorously argued and scholarly. It is one of the better books on eastern Europe published within the last decade.

R. V. BURKS

POLAND: WHITE EAGLE ON A RED FIELD, by Samuel Sharp (Harvard; $5).

EVERYDAY ART

FREUD meets architecture in Mr. Kennedy's imposing but sophisticated volume. Now that the introduction has been so fruitfully effected, one wonders why it took so long.

Inevitably James Thurber's well-known cartoon of the house which melts into an apprehensive female face appears here. The drawing belongs to the descriptive period of Freudian architecture when we were content to identify symbols. Mr. Kennedy's book inaugurates the positive phase when we must decide what to do about it. As a practicing architect, he has a right to know—and so do his clients. As a scholar, he has provided a complement of answers.

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in the larger complications of architecture and a status-seeking society. Here the book comes to grips with questions of livability, the struggles of wives and husbands, of parents versus children, of the role of the house in reinforcing personal security and declaring social status. All are questions that building can affect, and a legitimate concern of the designer. Beginning thus with a great deal of highly specific data of unique value and interest to any moderately intellectual person with a building problem, the book leads on into matters of design affecting all types of buildings, new and intriguing theories of architectural history and aesthetics (*vide* Geoffrey Scott's strictures on the "organic fallacy" in architecture), and sharply pointed criticisms which invite changes in the design of school buildings, hospitals and other building types where common sense has a chance to prevail over the iron whims and dogmatic indecisions of the homebuilder. The wide-ranging author includes piercing analyses of different kinds of architects, their beliefs and capabilities; a concise comment on style; and a brilliant resolution of the modern architects' form-problem in the essay "Cave versus Bower."

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FREDERICK GUTHEIM

THE PERFECT PLAY

by Eric Bentley

LIKE *Tea and Sympathy*, Samuel Taylor's *Sabrina Fair* is perfect; the obvious intention is perfectly carried out, the means are perfectly adapted to the ends. The two plays, indeed, represent respectively the two current forms of perfection: quasi-realistic drama and quasi-romantic comedy; and the Playwrights' Company, which produced them, must be credited as the most accurate students of perfection in the imperfect city of New York.

A few weeks ago I tried to describe the perfection of *Tea and Sympathy*, though some readers thought I did Mr. Anderson too much credit; they said he couldn't have been *aware* of his skill in manipulating the impulses that make up the perfect day-dream. Yet they must grant Mr. Taylor such an awareness, for his calculations are there to be shamelessly enjoyed, like Euclid's. Like *Tea and Sympathy*, the production at the National has Hit written all over it. For, contrary to general opinion, a hit is recognizable at sight. If it doesn't have a bloom like a fruit, it has something equivalent to icing on a cake or chrome on a Cadillac. You can see at a glance that, say, Elmer Rice's *Grand Tour* is not a hit; hits are not down-at-heel. They are gowned by Adrian and glamorized in the classic tradition of Culver City. The stage-management must be efficient, the cast must be studded with stars (preferably from Hollywood), the setting should be opulent, and the writing must be perfect: it must enable the author always to have the best of both worlds and reconcile illusion with reality.

Mr. Taylor chose for his style a vein of banter which enables him to claim and disclaim as he pleases. Does he claim that his play means something? If you like, yes: there are edifying passages about the difference between wanting money and wanting power. At moments, the principal love story is made to symbolize the union of the urge to love the world with the urge to conquer it. But, if you don't like this, then no: it is all disowned by the rest of the play.

Having it both ways is . . . perfect. Your language may be blunt, but your heart is warm; your conversation may be flippant but your views are conventional; you can refer to Freud and Lucretius, but you are not—oh, definitely not—an intellectual; and though you know all the things to say about the rich, you don't happen to know any of the poor except your chauffeur (and the chauffeur in *Sabrina Fair* is a millionaire).

In nothing is Mr. Taylor more adept at having-it-both-ways than in the matter of money. Many times during the evening you can say: "Hear that? He's making fun of the rich"; yet the hero's discovery is that you get even richer by being less interested in money than power, and this hero not only marries into the chauffeur's million but is the author's idea man, the man of the future.

These two viewpoints could, of course, be the basis for a work of art. But art knows no perfection. The perfectionist had best stick to the business of calculating his effects. For example, the problem of illusion and reality which always at some point baffles the artist, can be very precisely adjusted by the dispenser of a hit play. Isn't drama for the audience? Well then, let them have illusion and reality as they want them; which is to say, let them chiefly have illusion, but let us keep them from knowing it by administering small doses of reality. In the fun-fair of the mind let there be a booth marked Reality Inc. with subtitles of which Money should perhaps be the chief. Having been made to feel one with the wealthy—the drawing room play always made us feel this—we are ready to hear about the simple virtues of the poor and weep a silent tear. After cynical laughter, we were ever the more vulnerable to sentiment; and, when due homage has been paid to culture (*Sabrina Fair* invokes not only Freud and Lucretius but Byron and Emerson not to mention the Miltonic title), it pleases us to be pretty mindless.

Perfection is perfection; one must not claim to find imperfections in it; yet if a critic of *Sabrina* did so claim, he would probably cite the live quality of the joking; for wherever there is life there must be imperfection; perfection is dead. One would doubt that Mr. Taylor could be imperfect if he wanted. He

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has studied Shaw and would be capable of truly Shavian jesting if he weren't perfection's slave. Shaw took the dead Victorian farce, the dead drawing-room comedy, and breathed life into it. Mr. Taylor takes the achieved Shavian comedy and breathes death into it. It is distressing to see the great Inverter inverted in this way; to see his technique placed at the service of his enemies. Mr. Taylor is the rich man's GBS.

I should not like my rationale of commercial playwriting to militate against this play in particular. Beside the play in which Charles Boyer currently appears, it is superb. There are many good laughs in it. Perfection may be dead, but it won't kill you; and, in the theatre, when the author takes life out through the window, the actors bring it in through the door. The merit of *Sabrina Fair* is that it provides six amusing roles for six good actors. They are stock roles, but the actors have been able to put a little flesh on the bones; and, after all, there are many parts these days with no bones to put flesh on to. Direction and stage design are a little too much in the "perfect" vein of the script: the slow-deliberateness of the directing underscores the mechanical quality of Mr. Taylor's wit; so does the designer's way of rendering handsomeness and brilliance without a touch of beauty or humor, i.e., without any *living* touch whatsoever.

Margaret Sullavan's acting, though a little forced, now that youthfulness is something she has to affect, is still full of brio and breeze. Joseph Cotten has the movie-star habit of repeatedly placing his face, as it were, on display (particularly in profile); he has a movie star's imperfect speech—he has a slight lisp and keeps getting a frog in his throat; yet his sardonic presence fills both the theatre and the vacuum which Mr. Taylor often left in the script. Of the minor performers, I have only space to single out Cathleen Nesbitt whose voice establishes the tone of the play in the first scene and sustains it for a large part of the evening; it is the haw-haw, Oxford accent which always converts what might have been just a play into High Comedy if not into High Church ritual. How far, after all, could *The Cocktail Party* have got on mere Christianity? It needed those weird, women's voices. England is a country where—in 1926—civil war was avoided largely by the use of the Oxford accent.

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From Our Readers

► Adlai in Georgia

In our November 9 issue a Southern Liberal protested that the November 24 visit of Adlai Stevenson to Georgia, as the guest of Governor Herman Talmadge, "rubbed salt into liberal wounds." The following comments are from other Southern readers of the New Republic:

If I were Adlai Stevenson and had been invited to visit Georgia and speak before the Legislature, I would accept with the greatest pleasure and give the same kind of fighting speech that I had given in Richmond during the Presidential campaign of 1952. If I remember correctly Georgia gave Stevenson his largest majority on November 4, 1952 (that is, the largest majority he received in any state). Surely he owes it to Georgia to thank the citizens of that state regardless of who the Governor may be, and certainly if he is invited to stay in the Governor's mansion he should do so. I can assure you that Stevenson will influence Talmadge more than Talmadge will influence Stevenson!

I sympathize with the feeling of your correspondent since I have often been in the same woods myself. But tell him to cheer up. We are making progress and Stevenson will help in Georgia.

FRANCIS PICKENS MILLER
Charlottesville, Va.

It is an unfortunate fact that liberals have to go about the business of destroying one another, never admitting of compromise. It is a sort of exhibitionism. Stevenson is not to be here as sponsored by Talmadge. A lot of persons urged the legislature to invite him, trying to get his voice heard here. But the local CIO boys sulk in their tent and flyblow it simply because Talmadge is the Governor. If we have to wait until the millenium comes to have Stevenson speak in the South, I am afraid he never will.

The whole article, to me, is an example of typical stupidity on the part of liberals happily engaged in the business of cutting other liberals to pieces, simply because they are not all following the same line. In a very real sense, this is McCarthyism in reverse—one liberal group says that if you do not conform to its tenets you are no liberal—or certainly not a 100 percent liberal.

For example, Secretary Humphrey had a dinner meeting in Atlanta last week. He was supported by most of the Negro leaders in the city, including the Negro daily paper. They all went to the local Republicans and said, "We understand the Southern problem and we want to help build a two-party system here in the state; so don't worry about our not being present at the dinner." But when Stevenson comes the liberals, themselves, will be probing around trying to raise hell about the segregation issue and, thereby, further destroying the possibility of any Democratic action. I get pretty sick of it. I guess they get pretty sick of me, too, but politics remains the science of the possible.

One great trouble with the liberal camp today is that too many fanatics and zealots in it see political action in terms of dying on the barricades or disemboweling themselves on the public square. This is all very heroic, but it does not get anywhere.

At any rate, Stevenson is not sponsored by Governor Talmadge in Georgia but is invited by the state legislature, which certainly includes a lot of good Stevenson supporters. Governor Talmadge, of course, will extend to him all hospitality and, of course, I assume Governor Stevenson will accept it, as he would that offered by the Governor of any other state you might mention, whether Republican, Democrat or Socialist. There are those of us who think it is important to have him visit and speak in the South, and it makes me pretty sick and pretty weary for such an occasion to provide an excuse for all the little divisive groups to start swinging on their own trapezes, madly scratching their own pet fleas and to try in every way to attract attention to themselves, rather than to the main objective—to have Stevenson's voice raised in the South.

After all, Georgia gave Stevenson the greatest majority he received in any state and the state Democratic organization did not bolt. Georgia never has bolted, however much it may have wished to at times. It seems to me that on the basis of that, they have a right to ask him down here, even if they are not as liberal as some of the others would wish. How many states did the "liberal group," expressing itself on page 6 of the November 9 issue, carry for Stevenson? I do wish the liberals would quit knifing one another. More than that, if one group in America is to accuse me of not being a 100 percent American because I think McCarthyism is dangerous, and another is to denounce me as not being a true liberal because I don't conform to its yardstick—where do we go? I think the November 9 article was naïve, narrow, dogmatic and childish.

I wish to God the Southern liberal who happily reports that everything in the South is in transition would also have the common sense to realize that politics also is in transition.

Atlanta, Ga. RALPH MC GILL

It is difficult to find any good reason why Adlai Stevenson should make a social or political call on Governor Herman Talmadge. What Stevenson stands to gain by such a visit is hard to see.

Every consideration bearing upon his future would cause him rather to keep as far away from so complete a Nemesis of his ideas and principles as possible. Farther, any such visit can only weaken every true supporter he has in Georgia.

A more important consideration is what he may do to his forces in evenly balanced states of the North, where making calls on such racists and reactionaries as Talmadge might easily tilt such states against him. It is much like stomping your foot when the known bad dog of the neighborhood is passing by.

In Alabama the situation is somewhat different. Governor Persons, organization-wise, is tied in with the Hill-Sparkman forces. These forces have soundly thrashed the Dixiecrats. Therefore a visit with Governor Persons will bolster the "liberal" element in the Democratic Party of Alabama. However, nationally Governor Persons is as poisonous as Talmadge, even possibly more so following his signing, with a strong message of approval, the so-called "Right-To-Work" bill. Organized labor cannot and will not forget or forgive this act, especially since the bill destroys much of the legal basis for collective bargaining.

While it is very wonderful to have this delightful and scintillating personality among us, we think he will have to watch his step or he will get hurt and hurt others he would not wish to.

Montgomery, Ala. AUBREY WILLIAMS

Any anxiety felt by liberals regarding Adlai Stevenson's forthcoming Georgia trip on the invitation of Governor Talmadge is, many of us believe, unwarranted. Mr. Stevenson's integrity and courage have been amply tested. There need be no fear that he will compromise his principles.

We Southern Democrats would like to prove to those who have recently deserted our ranks that the fear of domination by the Northern wing of the Democratic Party is entirely groundless and is, instead, merely a divisive scheme devised by Republican sympathizers. If leaders, as Mr. Stevenson himself, from north of the Mason and Dixon line can fraternize

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with Southerners without relinquishing their principles, I believe the two wings of the party may well benefit.

If we liberals are too inflexible, and refuse to compromise on lesser matters, we cannot make headway on the things that count most.

And certainly Stevenson's intellect and integrity are such that we can trust his judgment.

Huntsville, Tex. M. S. ESTILL

I think it is in order for Adlai Stevenson to engage in some domestic travel now that he has completed so successful a trip to various foreign countries, but my opinion is that the Democratic Party might be better served in the long run if he had decided upon earlier trips to Wisconsin, New Jersey and California than will be the case when he goes to Georgia and Alabama, under the auspices of Governors Talmadge and Persons.

I am inclined to agree with the author of the page 6 article that Southern liberals are considered expendable, and do not like it.

Mr. Stevenson is not likely to better serve the cause of liberalism by being the guest of Governor Talmadge in Georgia or the guest of Governor Persons in Alabama than President Eisenhower did when he was recently Governor Shivers' guest in Texas.

It is hardly conceivable that Adlai Stevenson and Herman Talmadge see eye-to-eye on the race question in Georgia, but watch out lest the forces behind Talmadge construe Stevenson's visit to the people of that state as an endorsement of what Talmadge stands for.

I don't think Stevenson's views on anti-labor legislation coincide with those of Governor Persons in Alabama, but when the newspapers of Alabama get through reporting the visit I shall be greatly surprised if they fail to convey just that impression among many people.

During last year's campaign, President Eisenhower was not averse to talking one way north of the Mason-Dixon line and another way in Richmond, Virginia, about civil rights. But no Southern liberal applauded this duplicity. Neither will Southern liberals approve any action on the part of Stevenson that exposes him to opposition charges that he is about to get in bed with Talmadge and Persons. Stevenson will gain no support from those who have traditionally supported Talmadge and at the same time keep the anti-Talmadge support which stood by him last November.

There will be many Southern liberals who have contributed financially to the Democratic Party, to wipe out last year's campaign deficit and to help insure future Democratic successes, who will hardly rejoice over the prospect that any part of this money may be used—however indirectly and unintentionally — to strengthen the hand of Herman Talmadge and his political kin in the South.

Louisville, Ky. L. D.

► The Dylan Thomas Fund

We are sure you have read in the press of the sudden and tragic death of the great poet Dylan Thomas. Thomas died of encephalopathy at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York on November 9, after an illness of four days. He was only 39 years old. He was attended by one of the finest brain surgeons in New York and everything possible was done to save him.

Thomas' death is an incalculable loss to literature. His work was growing in stature with every year. But there is also a personal tragedy—he leaves a widow without means of support and three children—which gravely concerns his friends and admirers.

As spokesmen for the committee we are making this urgent appeal for contributions to The Dylan Thomas Fund, (which we have hastily organized), which will be used to meet his medical bills and funeral expenses and, if the response is as generous as we hope, to tide his family over the next difficult months.

Please send your check to The Dylan Thomas Fund, care of Philip Wittenberg, Treasurer, 70 West 40th Street, New York City. An accounting of disbursements from the Fund will be sent to the contributors at a later date.

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Bandwagon

All of us who can afford the services of taxi-drivers, waiters, porters, bootblacks, etc., ought to be tipping more liberally these days than ever before.

Not for humanitarian reasons alone; for a very selfish reason. We who ride in taxis, travel in Pullman cars and eat in hotels and restaurants are the favored few whom the capitalistic system has treated very, very liberally. We want that system to continue. It won't continue unless the folks who do for us the hard and often unpleasant tasks are rewarded generously enough so that they will want to carry on. — *From column by Bruce Barton in The Canton (Ohio) Forum, November 6, 1953.*

Mr. McCarthy said he would send today from Washington a telegram to Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard "to see what his attitude toward Furry will be."

"One argument against keeping him is a complete lack of academic freedom under the discipline of Russia," the Senator said. "He is not a free agent." — *New York Times, November 6, 1953.*

New York's savings bankers are "at sea." Recent major developments in their industry have left them uncertain about the outlook. This week, however, they hope to find some answers at their annual convention aboard the *S.S. Nieuw Amsterdam,* on cruise to Havana.

About 750 banking executives, members of the Savings Banks Association of the State of New York, are slated to attend the shipboard sessions daily until the luxury liner returns here on Friday. And while the cruise is a combined business-pleasure trip, emphasis is certain to be on the former, for not in recent years have the savings bankers been faced with such pressing questions as they are today. — *New York Times, October 18, 1953.*

We are hopeful that this cattle market is going, and we believe that the cattle market has reached its peak, and is on the way up.

The cattle population next Jan. 1 will certainly be no larger than it was on last Jan. 1, which is a great change. — *Dwight D. Eisenhower, as quoted in The New York Times, October 29, 1953.*

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen said tonight after a nationwide tour that he had found "no impatience" with the Eisenhower Administration except that the people "want to know a little more of what's going on." — *New York Times, November 10, 1953.*

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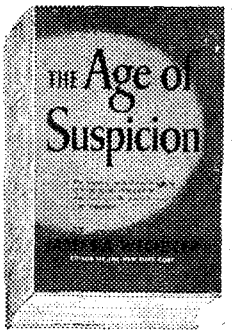

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This book in some ways may seem a little old-fashioned in its reliance on reason and on the traditions of freedom which have been cherished in this country. But it is a good job by a competent journalist and will perhaps be surviving at least on library shelves when the history of this strange time of ours can be written. The day may come when we will clearly realize what the Communist danger to this country was and also what danger there was in the kind of personal attack made upon Mr. Wechsler.

— R. L. Duffus in the *New York Times,* November 15, 1953

The Age of Suspicion strikes heartening notes of democratic faith and fortitude in a time of troubles. It is a wonderfully readable book, gay and funny, with scintillating twists of phrase and a pervading rueful wit; these very qualities suggest the practical, skeptical, good-humored and humble liberalism of which it is so valuable an expression.

— Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in the *New Republic,* Nov. 16, 1953

• Note You may order the Christmas Bonus book, *The Age of Suspicion,* for yourself or have it sent to any address you designate

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